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At the end of the 1968-1969 academic year, a survey was undertaken to determine the nature and extent of campus protests, how their frequency and types vary, how institutional responses to them differ, what institutional policies and practices have been changed because of them, and other related matters. The survey instrument was a questionnaire which collected data for the entire year on the mode and incidence of protests, major issues, results, consequences, and administrative changes made. The facts in this report represent the first attempt to link campus unrest with a variety of institutional characteristics (control, type, size, selectivity) using a representative national sample of 427 US colleges and universities. Study findings indicate that most institutions are attempting to respond in meaningful ways to major campus protests. Discipline has been a frequent response to violence: but major efforts have been made to modify curricula and racial policies, and to increase the freedom and power of students. The data also show that a majority of institutions, including those where major protests did not occur, made substantive changes in rules and policy during 1968 and 1969. One conclusion of the study is that US campuses, which have always been centers of protest and social criticism, are still likely to experience more unrest in years to come. The questionnaire and an analysis of the data are included. (WM)

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CAMPUS DISRUPTION DURING 1968-1969

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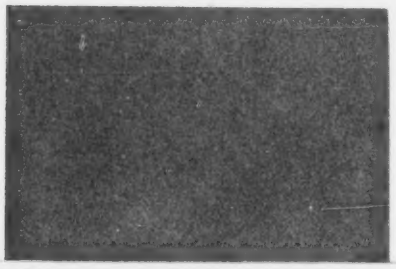

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CAMPUS DISRUPTION DURING 1968-1969[1]

Alan E. Bayer
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American Council on Education

Campus unrest during the past academic year appeared to reach a new peak of intensity and frequency that was substantially greater than what had occurred in previous years. From a casual sampling of press accounts of recent incidents of unrest, one might be tempted to conclude that many institutions and, indeed, higher education in general, is coming apart at the seams. The great national concern with these events is reflected in several recent statements by educational groups, as well as by several bills that have been proposed recently in the state legislatures and the National Congress.

The high level of anxiety and tension expressed by all parties concerned with campus unrest suggests that an objective appraisal of the facts of the situation would be a useful prelude to any changes in policy that might be under consideration. What is the true extent of campus unrest in the total population of colleges and universities? How does the frequency and type of campus unrest vary in different types of institutions? What forms has the institutional response to unrest taken? Does the character of the institutional response vary with the tactics used by the protestors? What changes in institutional policy and practice have come about as a result of different types of protest?

In order to gain preliminary answers to these and related questions, the Office of Research of the American Council on Education undertook a survey of

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[1]This research was supported in part by Grant 1 R12 MH17, 084-01 from the National Institute of Mental Health. The authors wish to express their appreciation to the many institutional representatives in our Cooperative Institutional Research Program who took valuable time from their busy schedules to complete and return our questionnaire.

campus unrest during 1968-1969 using the national sample of 427 colleges and universities that have been participating in its Cooperative Institutional Research Program.[2] Because of the currency of the topic, certain measures were taken to insure that the long delays usually associated with survey research of this type would be avoided: procedures for editing, weighting, and analyzing the responses from the surveyed institutions were developed and thoroughly debugged even before the final questionnaires were received. Thus, even though the final questionnaire was not returned until July 30, it was possible to complete the initial tabulations of the data presented in this report before the end of the following month. A more complete causal analysis of institutional influences on campus unrest will be presented in a subsequent report, which is scheduled to be completed early in the fall. The purpose of this initial report is thus to give a birds-eye view of the nature and extent of major incidents of campus unrest during 1968-69, in terms of the issues, tactics, outcomes, and the types of institutions involved.

The recent rise in campus unrest and student protest activities has been followed by a wave of research investigations on the subject by behavioral scientists. Two years ago virtually all articles on campus unrest were journalistic, anecdotal accounts of incidents on a single campus; recently however, several large-scale empirical studies have been reported. These include a number of studies with the institution as the unit of analysis (e.g., Peterson, 1966, 1968; Sasajima, Davis, and Peterson, 1968; Jones, 1969; Boruch, 1969) and others with students as the focus of analysis (e.g., Astin, 1968a; Baird, 1969). While several of these studies have attempted to provide national estimates of the extent of campus unrest and its relation to student and

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[2]This is a national representative sample of institutions selected for the 1968 annual survey of entering college freshmen (Creager, Astin, Boruch, and Bayer, 1968). The number of institutions in the present survey is slightly less than the number previously reported in the freshmen norms report primarily because branch campuses of the Pennsylvania State University were excluded.

institutional characteristics, the data presented here represent the first attempt to link campus unrest with a wide variety of institutional characteristics using a representative national sample of American colleges and universities (Creager, 1969a).

WHAT IS ORGANIZED MAJOR CAMPUS PROTEST?

Historically, the American college campus has been a center of protest and social criticism. The campuses of the 1950's were not devoid of protest. Rather, the "silent generation" of college students in the 1950's exercised less visible and more restricted means of protest than are evident in the intensive and extensive unrest of the 1960's. Petitions, resolutions, and editorials and letters in school publications were the primary means of expressing dissent in the 1950's. In the 1960's these same means are employed on virtually every campus in the United States. Indeed, even among the "havens of campus tranquil[illegible]--the junior college--more than four-fifths are reported to have experienced some kind of protest--usually resolutions, petitions, or editorials--during the 1967-68 academic year (Jones, 1969).

But it is the increased intensity--often including physical and occasionally violent means--which has called a greater public response to, and recognition of, campus protest in the 1960's. As a result of the publicity given these more physical, often disruptive, modes of protest, it is often assumed that organized campus disruption and campus protest are synonyms. The result is an impression of an absence of campus protest in the 1950's and, in many institutions, a denial of the existence of campus protest in the 1960's. In recent series of intensive interviews conducted by the American Council on Education and the Bureau of Social Science Research at 23 institutions, for example, many faculty members and administrators denied the existence of student protest on the campus, while readily acknowledging that

small groups of students had held campus demonstrations or rallies, that resolutions or petitions had been presented to administrators, or that editorials or letters critical of college, local, or federal policies had appeared in school publications. A similar denial, in spite of explicit instructions to the contrary, was also manifested in some of the responses to the questionnaire survey on which the data presented in this paper are based.

In summary, nonphysical and nondisruptive protest has been a traditional part of the academic milieu--even, it is maintained, in the 1950's. Consequently, such protest means are not generally recognized as part of the campus unrest of the 1960's--an unrest depicted in the news media as composed of Molotov cocktails, barricaded doors, bayonnets, and chemical sprays. Other less violent (and less emphasized by the media) but organized, sometimes disruptive, protest has also occurred on several college campuses this past year. It is the more intensive aspects of this "new" protest form which is the topic of this present paper. Analyses of the nondisruptive and nonviolent forms of protest is planned for a future paper. Specifically excluded in this present paper are protests which are primarily carried out by autonomous individuals (e.g., letters to the editor, editorials, threats by individuals) or which are instituted through traditional democratic processes and entail no disruption of on-going institutional functions (e.g., circulation of petitions, presentation of list of grievances to college official, nonviolent picketing, campus march, or rally). Specifically included are those incidents which involve violence or are disruptive in the sense that they either prevent free movement of all campus members or interfere with administrative or institutional functions (e.g., classes, speeches, or meetings).

DATA SOURCES

Our questionnaire on campus protest was sent in June of 1969 (at the end of the 1968-69 academic year) to all 427 institutional representatives in the American Council on Education's 1968 Cooperative Institutional Research Program. A copy of the questionnaire is shown in Appendix A. Reminder letters were sent and follow-up phone calls were made to nonrespondents two to three weeks after the initial mailing. By July 30, responses had been received from 382 (89 percent) of the 427 institutions. The questionnaire was designed to assess factual rather than subjective data and replies included information on the incidence of campus protest, the mode of the protests, the issues, and the results, consequences, and changes which had occurred during the academic year 1968-69.

The institutional representatives for the ACE Cooperative Institutional Research Program are selected by the college presidents and generally hold administrative positions in the institution (Table 1). Consequently, most respondents are probably "in a position to know" when protest takes place on the campus and to document details of the incidents. Indeed, approximately one-third of the respondents who reported any kind of campus protest provided additional details and points of clarification to their precoded responses. Approximately 20 institutional representatives, however, passed the questionnaire on to another person at the institution who in their judgment was in a better position to respond accurately.

The survey responses were linked to the ACE master institutional file, which includes data on institutional type, control, enrollment, selectivity, and other selected information about the population of American institutions of higher education (Creager, 1969a). These data were then weighted to account for nonresponse bias and differential sampling within strata (Creager,

Table 1. Administrative or Academic Position of Institutional Representatives in the ACE Cooperative Institutional Research Program (N = 427)

Administrative or Academic Title	Percentage of Total Representatives
Dean of Students or Student Personnel, Dean of Men or Women, Vice President for Student Affairs, Academic Dean	28.8
Registrar, Director of Admissions	24.1
Dean or Director of Counseling, Psychological Services, Guidance, or Testing Center	19.1
Director of Institutional Studies	9.4
Deans, other[a]	8.7
President, Provost, Assistant to the President	5.9
Professor, Associate Professor, Assistant Professor[b]	2.0
Other[c]	2.0
TOTAL	100.0

[a]Includes dean of instruction, dean of faculty, dean (unspecified).

[b]Includes academic positions in departments of psychology, education, physics, and chemistry.

[c]Includes director of planning, recorder, administrative officer, and other miscellaneous titles.

1968) by means of a computer program for establishing institutional weights from a college and university subpopulation (Creager, 1969b). The total number of institutions participating in the campus unrest survey and the weighted total number of institutions in the population, by type, are shown in Table 2.

Modes of Protest

The questionnaire inquired as to whether or not the institution had experienced any one of fourteen different categories of protest tactics. Our analyses dealt separately with the nine most severe tactics or protest modes. These nine specific modes, plus other instances in which individuals were either killed or injured, were also combined to form the following two general modes:

1. Violent protest, defined as:

   Burning of building by protestors,

   Breaking or wrecking of building or furnishings,

   Destruction of records, files, papers,

   Campus march, picketing, or rally with physical violence,

   One or more persons killed, or

   Some persons injured.

2. Disruptive protest, defined as:

   Any violent protest (above),

   Building or section of building occupied,

   Entrance to building barred by protestors,

   Officials held 'captive' by students,

   Interruption of school function (e.g., classes, speech or meetings), or

   General campus strike or boycott of classes or school function.

Table 2. Institutional Sample and Population Distribution, by Type of Institution and Incidence of Major Protest Activity: 1968-1969

Type of Institution	Number in Sample	Number in Population	Estimated Population Totals	
			Percent with Violent Protests	Percent with Disruptive Protests
Public universities	54	244	13.1	43.0
Private universities	28	61	34.4	70.5
Four-year public colleges	44	336	8.0	21.7
Four-year private nonsectarian colleges	85	411	7.3	42.6
Four-year Protestant colleges	49	292	1.7	17.8
Four-year Roman Catholic colleges	43	234	2.6	8.5
Two-year private colleges	25	226	0.0	0.0
Two-year public colleges	54	538	4.5	10.4
TOTAL	382	2342	6.2	22.4

Protest Issues

The questionnaire included 23 different specified issues that might serve as the basis for protest. Respondents were asked to indicate whether or not each issue was involved in any of the protests that occurred during the academic year. As with the protest modes, our analyses dealt with each of the separate issues, as well as with the following general issue categories:

1. War-related protests were defined as those concerned with opposition to any one of the following:

   U.S. military policy (e.g., Viet Nam, CBW, ABM),

   U.S. selective service policy,

   ROTC programs,

   On-campus military or government research, or

   On-campus recruiting by government or industry.

2. Minority Students, defined as:

   Special educational programs for minority groups (e.g., Black studies, compensatory programs), or

   Special admissions policies for minority groups.

3. Student Power, defined as protests concerning:

   Institutional parietal rules (e.g., dress, dormitory regulations, drinking, sex, required attendance at school functions),

   Institutional student disciplinary practices,

   Student participation in decision-making (e.g., on committees),

   Free expression (e.g., publication censorship, guest speakers), or

   Faculty (e.g., academic freedom, hiring, tenure).

4. Services to Students, defined as protests about:

   Instructional procedures (e.g., class size, quality of

instruction, grading system, student evaluations),

Tuition charges and fees, or

Institutional services (e.g., food and medical service, housing, recreation facilities).

5. Secondary Issues, defined as protests about:

Police brutality,

Requests or demands for amnesty,

Administrative indifference or inaction concerning previous protest grievances,

Opposition to administrative response concerning previous protests, or

Mourning for students or others killed or wounded.

6. Off-Campus issues included protest concerning:

War-related issues (above)

Civil rights (e.g., desegregation, voter registration),

Labor problems (e.g., wages, benefits, unionization), or

Administrative indifference or inaction concerning local community problems.

Immediate Outcomes

Immediate outcomes of the protests were assessed in terms of sixteen different items (e.g., national guard called in, classes suspended, formal statement issued by faculty in support of protestors). Respondents were asked to indicate whether each of these immediate outcomes had occurred during the 1968-69 academic year. Also, the following general categories of immediate outcomes were developed:

1. Civil action, defined as:

Some protestors arrested, or

Some protestors indicted.

2. Institutional discipline, defined as:

One or more students dismissed or expelled,

Some students suspended or put on probation, or

Financial assistance withdrawn from some protestors.

Institutional Changes

Institutional changes constituted the final set of items in the questionnaire. Eleven specific changes in institutional policy and practice during the 1968-69 academic year were tabulated, as well as the following three general categories:

1. Changes in racial policies, defined as:

   Black studies program or department was instituted, or

   Special admissions policies were established for minority group members.

2. Increased student power, defined as:

   Parietal rules were liberalized,

   Other institutional rules and regulations governing students were changed, or

   Students were allowed more voice or representation on existing committees.

3. Substantive institutional change, defined as:

   Changes in racial policy (above),

   Increased student power (above),

   Other curriculum changes instituted,

   ROTC program terminated,

   ROTC program altered or made elective,

   Some campus research for the military discontinued, or

   On-campus recruiting prohibited for some organizations.

The final category above included all but one of the specific institutional changes, "new committees or study groups formed on campus," which was considered not to be a "substantive" change.

PRESENTATION OF DATA

Tabulations of the questionnaire responses are presented in weighted form. The weighted data represent approximations of the total population of institutions based on the ACE stratification design for sampling institutions in the population (Creager, 1968). This stratification procedure sorts the population into 35 different sampling cells. The cells are defined in terms of institutional characteristics that are known to be related to important student and environmental characteristics of institutions (religious affiliation, aptitude scores of entering students, race, etc.). The weight assigned to any institution's data is defined as the ratio between the number of institutions from that cell in the total population of 2,342 institutions, and the total number of sample institutions (in this case, the institutions responding to our questionnaire) in that cell. Four of the 35 cells were collapsed into adjacent cells, so that no cell included fewer than five responding institutions, and no institutional weight exceeded 16. Since the initial sample of 427 was randomly selected from the original stratification design, and since the rate of response to our questionnaire was very high, the weighted data can be regarded as a close approximation to the data that would be obtained if all institutions in the population had been surveyed and all had responded. Interpretation of population estimates are more likely to be tenuous if the actual percentage of responses in the sample is extreme (less than 5 percent or greater than 95 percent, for example).

All tabulations presented in this report employ the categories of violent or disruptive protest as the major control variable. It should be noted that these two general modes of major protest are not mutually exclusive and that in all cases the stated frequencies of disruptive protest also include all those campuses which had reported instances of violent protest.

It should also be noted here that not all of the six generated variables of issues categories are mutually exclusive. Nor are the three general categories of institutional changes mutually exclusive. The researcher who may wish to recategorize these variables or summarize differently the data presented here should be wary of these constraints.

The sections of the questionnaire used in this study were designed to assess the character of campus protest incidents throughout the academic year 1968-69. Many of the institutions had experienced more than one incident during the year. Inasmuch as the objective was not to document single campus incidents, the modes, issues, results and changes as reported by a college may have involved several different protest "incidents." Moreover, the data do not show what has transpired in previous years. While many institutions, for example, made substantial changes in their rules and policies prior to the 1968-69 academic year, the data presented here reflect only what has been taking place on college campuses in this most recently completed academic year.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

All of the data reported here are based on the sections of the questionnaire shown in Appendix A which are pertinent to all protest activities that had occurred during the entire academic year 1968-69. The questionnaire data relevant to the last two protest incidents of 1968-69 (most recent protest incidents) will be the subject of a future research report. Since the various items of data are closely interrelated, we shall first present most of the substantive findings before attempting any broad discussion or interpretation.

Institutional Characteristics and the Incidence of Major Campus Protest

Among the more than 2,300 colleges and universities in the United States,

we estimate that 145, or 6.2 percent, experienced at least one incident of "violent" protest during the past academic year (see Table 2). An estimated 524 institutions, or 22.4 percent of the population, experienced "disruptive" protests during the past year. While these findings indicate that disruptive protest is not, as many press reports would suggest, characteristic of most college campuses, the data do show that the number of colleges that have actually experienced disruption or even violence is not inconsequential. A more detailed account of the characteristics of these institutions is presented below.

Control and Type. Major protest incidents among the more than 300 universities in the United States are about twice as likely to occur at private institutions than at public institutions. More than one in three of the private universities experienced violent protest during the past academic year; one in eight of the public universities experienced incidents of comparable severity. Approximately 70 percent of the private universities, and 42 percent of the public universities, experienced disruptive protests (Table 2). In short, these findings show that disruptive protest was more the rule than the exception at the universities, particularly at the private ones.

Among the nation's four-year colleges, incidents of violent protest were three to four times more likely in the public or private nonsectarian institutions than in the church-related colleges. Nevertheless, only about one in every 14 institutions that were not church-related experienced such protests. The data in Table 2 also indicate that the nonsectarian four-year colleges, particularly the private ones, were more likely than the sectarian colleges to have disruptive protests.

Major protest incidents are least likely to occur among the nation's

two-year colleges. Our national estimates indicate that virtually none of the private two-year colleges experienced either violent or disruptive protests. Among the public two-year colleges, only about one in 20 experienced an incident of violent protest; one in 10 experienced disruptive protests.

Size. Institutional size (total enrollment) is highly related to the probability of major campus protest incidents. The national estimates indicate that very few of the institutions that enroll small numbers of students (less than 1,000) had any incidents of violent protests. None of the sample of two-year colleges or universities enrolling less than 1,000 students reported an incident of violent protest; among the more than 500 four-year colleges in the nation with similar enrollments, less than 3 percent reported violent protests (Table 3). Among the institutions of intermediate size (enrollments between 1,000 and 5,000 students), four percent of the two-year colleges, five percent of the four-year colleges, and 14 percent of the universities experienced violent protest. Comparable figures for the large institutions (enrollment over 5,000) show 16 percent of the junior colleges, 14 percent of the senior colleges, and 22 percent of the universities experiencing such incidents.

Basically similar results are shown in Table 3 for disruptive protest incidents. Among the very large junior colleges (enrollment over 5,000), more than half experienced at least one incident of disruptive protest. That these larger two-year colleges tend to be public institutions is consistent with the data on institutional control noted previously. The rate of disruptive protest among four-year colleges of similar size is substantially less: about 38 percent.

Among the small universities in the sample, none experienced incidents of disruptive protest. More than four out of five of the universities

Table 3. Institutional Size and Incidence of Violent and Disruptive Protests, by Type of Institution (Weighted Population Estimates)

Total Enrollment	Two-Year Colleges			Four-Year Colleges			Universities		
	Total	Percent With Violent Protest	Percent With Disruptive Protest	Total	Percent With Violent Protest	Percent With Disruptive Protest	Total	Percent With Violent Protest	Percent With Disruptive Protest
Under 500	224	0.0	0.0	129	3.1	7.8	54	0.0	0.0
500-999	169	0.0	0.0	394	2.5	20.0			
1,000-5,000	303	4.3	6.9	591	5.4	28.9	29	13.8	82.8
Over 5,000	68	16.2	51.5	159	13.8	37.7	222	22.1	55.8
TOTAL	764	3.1	7.3	1273	5.3	25.1	305	17.4	48.5

of intermediate size, on the other hand, had disruptive protests. Among the large universities, slightly more than one-half experienced such incidents. Again this is consistent with the earlier finding that private universities are substantially more likely than the public ones to have disruptive protests. That is, the private universities tend to be of moderate size, whereas public universities tend to enroll large numbers of students.

In summary, these data show clearly that the institution's size is related to the occurrence of both violent or disruptive protests, but that the nature of the relationship is confounded by the type of institutional control and varies by level of the institution (two-year, four-year, or university).

Selectivity. The "selectivity" of a college--which we have defined as the average academic ability of its student body--is, like size, one of the institution's most important attributes. Selectivity has been shown in previous research to be closely related to an institution's educational environment and prestige (Astin, 1965, 1968b) and to affect students' career choices and chances of dropping out (Astin and Panos, 1969). As with size, selectivity tends to be positively correlated with incidence of protests and can be at least partially attributed to the high relationship between institutional control and the "quality" of the student body.

Among the universities, none at the lowest selectivity level had experienced either violent or disruptive protests. The proportion increases dramatically however, with each higher selectivity level, to a total of about 85 percent at the highest selectivity level of universities having experienced disruptive incidents (Table 4).

For the four-year colleges there is a similar although less pronounced increase in disruptive protests with higher selectivity. Among the two-year colleges, those with the lower selectivity level actually have a higher

Table 4. Institutional Selectivity and Incidence of Violent and Disruptive Protests, by Type of Institution (Weighted Population Estimates)

Selectivity	Two-Year Colleges			Four-Year Colleges			Universities		
	Total	Percent With Violent Protest	Percent With Disruptive Protest	Total	Percent With Violent Protest	Percent With Disruptive Protest	Total	Percent With Violent Protest	Percent With Disruptive Protest
Low (1)	608	3.0	8.2	307	3.9	17.9	72	0.0	0.0
Low Intermediate (2,3)	150	4.0	4.0	362	5.2	12.2	51	11.8	17.6
High Intermediate (4,5)	6	0.0	0.0	454	4.2	32.4	124	19.4	72.6
High (6,7)				150	12.0	49.3	58	39.7	84.5
TOTAL	764	3.1	7.3	1273	5.3	25.1	305	17.4	48.5

Note: The institutional selectivity score is the median standardized score on the ACT, SAT, or National Merit Scholarship Qualifying Test for students entering each U. S. college or university. These scores are coded into seven broad categories of institutional selectivity. For further specification of data sources and procedures, see Astin (1969).

incidence of disruptive protest. Again, this can be largely, if not totally, attributed to the fact that major protest is more likely among the public (often less selective) two-year colleges than among the private (usually more selective) junior colleges.

Table 4 also shows that the relationship between selectivity and incidence of violent protest is similar to the relationship described above between selectivity and disruptive protest. However, the changes across selectivity levels are relatively small, with even a few reversals in the positive correlation.

Specific Protest Incidents

The number of sample institutions and the estimated number in the population that have experienced each of the more severe types of incidents listed on the questionnaire are shown in Table 5. Among those institutions which fall into our category of having experienced "violent protest," the most prevalent kind of incident is the breaking or wrecking of a campus building or its furnishings. We estimate that such an incident had occurred on 3.4 percent of American college campuses, or on 80 of the 145 campuses (55 percent) that experienced violent protests during the year.

Of those institutions reporting violent protests, 43 (30 percent) had a building or section of a building destroyed by fire. Injuries to some individuals (protestors, police, administrators, faculty, students, or bystanders) had occurred at an estimated 45 institutions. An estimated eight institutions in the nation experienced incidents in which one or more individuals were killed, but this estimate is subject to considerable error because of the rarity of reported deaths in our sample (two such occurrences among the 382 reporting institutions). These data show that while "violence" as we have defined it is most likely to take the form of destruction of property, personal injuries do

Table 5. Number of U. S. Institutions Experiencing Incidents of Violent or Disruptive Protests: 1968-1969 Academic Year

Protest Incident	Number of Sample Institutions at Which Protest Occurred	Estimated Number of Institutions in the Population at Which Protest Incident Occurred	Percent of Institutions in the Population at Which Protest Incident Occurred
1. Burning of building by protestors	11	43	1.8
2. Breaking or wrecking of building or furnishings	18	80	3.4
3. Destruction of records, files, papers	5	21	0.9
4. Campus march, picketing, or rally with physical violence	18	62	2.6
5. One or more persons killed	2	8	0.3
6. Some persons injured	14	45	1.9
TOTAL OF INSTITUTIONS EXPERIENCING VIOLENT PROTESTS (1 through 6 above)	41	145	6.2
7. Building or section of building occupied	62	275	11.7
8. Entrance to building barred by protestors	27	83	3.5
9. Officials held 'captive' by protestors	7	24	1.0
10. Interruption of school function (e.g., classes, speech or meeting)	59	260	11.1
11. General campus strike or boycott of school function	37	141	6.0
TOTAL OF INSTITUTIONS EXPERIENCING DISRUPTIVE PROTESTS (1 through 11 above)	125	524	22.4

occur in about one-third of such incidents.

Disruptive protest took place at 524 (22.4 percent) of the nation's colleges and universities during the past academic year. Among these institutions the most prevalent forms of disruption were the occupation of a building (275, or 52.5 percent, of the 524 institutions), followed by an interruption of a school function such as a class, speech, or meeting (260, or 49.6 percent), and by a general campus strike or boycott of a school function (141, or 26.9 percent). Barring entrances to buildings or holding administrators "captive" occurred much less frequently (in 27 and 7 institutions, respectively).

Specific Protest Issues

The detailed list of issues raised during the past year on those campuses where there was either violent or disruptive protests is shown in Table 6. The most prevalent specific issues on campuses that had experienced violent protests were (1) the instituting of special educational programs for the disadvantaged or minority groups, (2) allowing greater student participation on committees, (3) changing institutional disciplinary practices, (4) challenging apparent administrative indifference or inaction to grievances, and (5) challenging alleged campus indifference to local community problems. These same issues were also frequently raised on the campuses which had disruptive protests, the two most frequent being special compensatory educational programs and student participation in decision-making.

Our summaries of specific issues into general categories reveal that a demand for increased student power was the most popular theme raised in major protest incidents (Table 4). Fully three-fourths of the colleges that experienced either disruptive or violent protests during the year also had protests on the issue of student power. The next most frequent general

Table 6. Protest Issues During 1968-1969 at Institutions Experiencing Incidents of Violent or Disruptive Protests
(Weighted Population Estimates)

Protest Issue	Among Institutions Experiencing Violent Protests (N = 145)		Among Institutions Experiencing Disruptive Protests (N = 524)	
	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)
1. Opposition to military policy (e.g., Viet Nam, ABM)	56	38.6	200	38.2
2. Opposition to U.S. Selective Service policy	40	27.6	128	24.4
3. Opposition to ROTC programs	55	37.9	120	22.9
4. Opposition to military or government research	43	29.6	83	15.8
5. On-campus recruiting by government or industry	52	35.9	166	31.7
TOTAL, WAR-RELATED ISSUES (1 through 5 above)	71	49.0	265	50.6
6. Institutional services (e.g., food and medical services, housing and recreation facilities)	45	31.0	150	28.6
7. Institutional parietal rules (e.g., dress, dormitory regulations, drinking, sex, required attendance at school functions)	20	13.8	156	29.8
8. Institutional student disciplinary practices	67	46.2	169	32.2
9. Instructional procedures (e.g., class size, quality of instruction, grading system, student evaluations)	36	24.8	161	30.7
10. Tuition charges and fees	17	11.7	53	10.1
TOTAL, SERVICES TO STUDENTS (6, 9, and 10 above)	64	44.1	257	49.0
11. Special educational programs for minority groups (e.g., black studies, compensatory programs)	96	66.2	290	55.3
12. Special admissions policies for minority groups	55	37.9	152	29.0
TOTAL, CAMPUS MINORITY STUDENTS ISSUE (11 and 12 above)	101	69.1	297	56.7

Table continued on following page

Table 6. (continued) Protest Issues During 1968-1969 at Institutions Experiencing Incidents of Violent or Disruptive Protests (Weighted Population Estimates)

Protest Issue	Among Institutions Experiencing Violent Protests (N=145)			Among Institutions Experiencing Disruptive Protests (N=524)		
	(N)	(%)		(N)	(%)	
13. Civil rights (e.g., desegregation, voter registration)	7	4.8		24	4.6	
14. Labor problems (e.g., wages, benefits, unionization)	28	19.3		38	7.2	
15. Administrative indifference or inaction concerning local community problems	61	42.1		90	17.2	
TOTAL, OFF-CAMPUS ISSUES (1 through 5; 13 through 15)	102		70.3	316		60.3
16. Police brutality	37	25.5		50	9.5	
17. Requests or demands for amnesty	46	31.7		96	18.3	
18. Administrative indifference or inaction concerning previous protest grievances	63	43.4		169	32.2	
19. Opposition to administrative response concerning previous protest	45	31.0		112	21.4	
20. Mourning for students or others killed or wounded	22	15.2		56	10.7	
TOTAL, SECONDARY ISSUES (16 through 20 above)	96		66.2	253		48.3
21. Student participation in decision making (e.g., on committees)	78	53.8		225	42.9	
22. Free expression (e.g., publication censorship, guest speakers)	19	13.1		70	13.4	
23. Faculty (e.g., academic freedom, hiring, tenure)	51	35.2		116	22.1	
TOTAL, STUDENT POWER (7,8,21 through 23 above)	113		77.9	396		75.6
24. Other	30	20.7		90	17.2	
GRAND TOTAL (1 through 24)	145		100.0	524		100.0

category of issues was off-campus problems such as the Viet Nam war, civil rights, labor problems, and community problems. Issues relating to student minorities were raised on more than one-half of the campuses that had disruptive protests, and on more than two-thirds of those that had violent protests. Other major issues (raised on about one-half of the campuses) included institutional student services, war-related issues, and secondary issues evolving from previous protest incidents.

Is there any relationship between the protest issues and protest tactics employed during the year? By comparing the relative size of the two percentages in each row of the Table, we see that the use of violence is associated least with protests concerning parietal rules or instructional procedures.

Direct Results and Consequences of Protest Incidents

A number of different results and consequences of protest incidents are shown in Table 7. These include death or injury to individuals, national coverage by news media, the employment of non-institutional restraints, the use of institutional punitive action, and the responses of the college administrators or faculty.

Coverage by news media. Campus and local news media generally cover protest incidents on local campuses. National coverage, while less frequent, occurred on about one-half of the campuses that had violent protests. National coverage of disruptive incidents is slightly less frequent, involving approximately two-fifths of the institutions. A likely consequence of such relatively comprehensive coverage of major incidents is to create an impression of rampant violence at the nation's colleges and universities.

Use of non-institutional action. The use of a temporary restraining order

Table 7. Direct Results and Consequences of Protest Incidents on Campuses Experiencing Violent or Disruptive Protests During the Academic Year 1968-1969 (Weighted Population Estimates)

Results	Estimated Among 145 Institutions Experiencing Violent Protests		Estimated Among 524 Institutions Experiencing Disruptive Protests	
	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)
1. National guard called in	2	1.4	2	0.4
2. Off-campus police called in	80	55.2	125	23.8
3. One or more persons killed	8	5.5	8	1.5
4. Some persons injured	45	31.0	45	8.6
5. Some protestors arrested	82	56.6	101	19.3
6. Some protestors indicted	37	25.5	47	9.0
TOTAL, CIVIL ACTION AGAINST INDIVIDUAL STUDENTS (5and6 above)	87	60.0	111	21.2
7. Temporary restraining order or court injunction obtained	28	19.3	53	10.1
8. Classes suspended	60	41.4	102	19.5
9. Protest received national press or television coverage	69	47.6	212	40.4
10. Administration or faculty negotiated issues with demonstrators	90	62.1	406	77.5
11. Formal statement issued by faculty in support of protestors	43	29.6	110	21.0
12. One or more students dismissed or expelled	21	14.5	40	7.6
13. Some students suspended or put on probation	48	33.1	117	22.3
14. Formal student reprimands issued	52	35.8	93	17.7
15. Financial assistance was withdrawn from some protestors	13	9.0	19	3.6

Table continued on following page

Table 7. (continued) Direct Results and Consequences of Protest Incidents on Campuses Experiencing Violent or Disruptive Protests During the Academic Year 1968-1969 (Weighted Population Estimates)

Results	Estimated Among 145 Institutions Experiencing Violent Protests		Estimated Among 524 Institutions Experiencing Disruptive Protests	
	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)
TOTAL, MAJOR INSTITUTIONAL DISCIPLINE AGAINST INDIVIDUAL STUDENTS (12, 13, and 15 above)	56	38.6	136	26.0
TOTAL, EITHER CIVIL OR INSTITUTIONAL ACTION AGAINST INDIVIDUAL STUDENTS (5,6,12,13, and 15 above)	109	75.2	193	36.8
16. Some faculty or administrators resigned as a result of the protest	13	9.0	15	2.9
17. Other	23	15.9	52	9.9

or court injunction was reported at one in five of the institutions on which a violent protest occurred in the past year. On campuses where disruptive protests occurred, one in ten employed such means.

Calling in the National Guard almost never occurred, but off-campus police were employed on more than half of the campuses with violent protests and on about one-fourth of those with disruptive protests.

At more than half of the institutions which had violent protests, some of the protestors were arrested; at one-fourth of the institutions, protestors were subsequently indicted. Overall, some form of civil action was taken against individual students in three-fifths of the institutions with violent protests as compared to only one-fifth of the institutions with disruptive protests. If we consider only the nonviolent disruptive protests, civil action was taken in less than 7 percent of the institutions.

These data show that in the use of court injuctions, police, and civil procedures, there is a clear distinction made between violent and nonviolent protests. Civil action, in fact, is almost exclusively associated with violent (as opposed to disruptive but nonviolent) protests.

Use of institutional discipline. Formal student reprimands were issued to protesting students at 35 percent of the institutions with violent protests and at 18 percent of the schools with disruptive protests. More severe punishment (suspension or probation) was undertaken at one-third of the colleges with violent protests and more than one-fifth of those with disruptive protests. The national estimates also indicate that the most severe institutional discipline -- dismissal and expulsion -- was undertaken at 15 percent of the campuses with violent protest and at eight percent of those with disruptive protest. Financial assistance was also

withdrawn from students at a number of campuses.

Summary of punitive action against protestors. The figures in Table 7 indicate that some major civil or institutional action (arrest, indictment, dismissal, or suspension) was taken against individual students at fully three-fourths of the institutions where there were violent protests; similarly severe punitive measures were taken against individual students at more than one-third of the colleges that had disruptive protests. As the survey was completed at many institutions prior to the completion of the academic year in June, it is likely that these figures are actually underestimates of the response because legal and/or institutional disciplinary action may still have been pending or forthcoming in a number of instances. Moreover, at a number of colleges the institutional actions which might be taken against individual protestors may be held up pending the result of civil proceedings in order that the institutional actions will not prejudice these civil actions.

Response of administrators and faculty. Our data indicate that college administrators and faculty often attempt to resolve the issues in a protest incident by negotiation with demonstrators. It is important to note that such procedures are even more likely to be used at institutions which have experienced disruptive protest (78 percent) than at institutions where violent incidents had occurred (62 percent). This finding raises two interesting questions for future research: Does violence sometimes prevent the possibility of negotiation? Or does the failure to negotiate sometimes lead to violence?

At about 30 percent of the institutions with violent protests, and at more than 20 percent of those with disruptive protests, some faculty had issued formal statements in support of the demonstrators. The resignation

of college officials or faculty members as a result of protest incidents is infrequent, although it seems to be related to the use of violence. Faculty resignations stemming primarily from protests occurred at about 10 percent of the colleges where there were violent protests and at about three percent of those with disruptive protests.

Institutional Changes as Related to the Incidence of Major Campus Protest

The frequency of major institutional changes is shown in Table 8. Although there is a positive association between unrest and change, the data show clearly that colleges and universities are not intransigent and changeable only through confrontation and crisis. The majority of institutions, including those where no major protest incident had occurred, made major changes in institutional policy and practices during the year.

Changes directly resulting from protests. Changes as a direct result of protest incidents on campuses where there were violent protests are most likely to take the form of new committees or study groups (53.8 percent of the 145 campuses with violent protests) or of new black studies programs (46.9 percent of the 145 institutions). The formation of new committees, curriculum changes (including black studies programs), and changes allowing more student voice on existing committees were the most prevalent changes likely to take place as a direct result of protest on campuses that had disruptive incidents.

Substantive institutional changes were made as a direct result of protest activities at 72 percent of the campuses where there was violent protests and at 59 percent of those with disruptive protests. Changes in the college's racial policies resulted from protest activities at 55 percent of

Table 8. Institutional Changes During the Academic Year 1968-1969 as Related to Incidence of Campus Protest (Weighted Population Estimates)

Changes	As a Direct Result of Protest Incident				Not as a Direct Result of Protest Incident					
	On Campuses Experiencing Violent Protests (N=145)		On Campuses Experiencing Disruptive Protests (N=524)		On Campuses Experiencing Violent Protests (N=145)		On Campuses Experiencing Disruptive Protests (N=524)		On Campuses Not Experiencing Disruptive Protests (N=1818)	
	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)
1. Black studies program or department instituted	68	46.9	102	19.5	44	30.3	230	43.9	324	17.8
2. Other curriculum changes were instituted	32	22.1	106	20.2	86	59.3	304	58.0	749	41.2
3. Special admissions policies were established for minority group members	23	15.9	42	8.0	38	26.2	114	21.8	155	8.5
TOTAL, CHANGES IN RACIAL POLICIES (1 and 3 above)	80	55.2	122	23.3	61	42.1	263	50.2	424	23.3
4. Parietal rules were liberalized	8	5.5	55	10.5	78	53.8	234	44.6	448	24.6
5. Other institutional rules and regulations governing students were changed	17	11.7	71	13.5	79	54.5	266	50.8	746	41.0
6. Students allowed more voice or representation on existing committees	33	22.8	102	19.5	81	55.9	275	52.5	823	45.3
TOTAL, CHANGES INCREASING STUDENT POWER (4-6 above)	37	25.5	155	29.6	104	71.7	362	69.1	1062	58.4

Table continued on following page

Table 8.(con't) Institutional Changes During the Academic Year 1968-1969 as Related to Incidence of Campus Protest (Weighted Population Estimates)

Changes	As a Direct Result of Protest Incident				Not as a Direct Result of Protest Incident					
	On Campuses Experiencing Violent Protests (N = 145)		On Campuses Experiencing Disruptive Protests (N = 524)		On Campuses Experiencing Violent Protests (N = 145)		On Campuses Experiencing Disruptive Protests (N = 524)		On Campuses Not Experiencing Disruptive Protests (N = 1818)	
	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)
7. New committees or study groups formed on campus	78	53.8	209	39.9	89	61.4	234	44.6	604	33.2
8. ROTC program terminated	4	2.8	6	1.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	0.2
9. ROTC program altered or made elective	16	11.0	30	5.7	4	2.8	20	3.8	19	1.0
10. Some campus research for the military discontinued	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	1.4	4	0.8	0	0.0
11. On-campus recruiting was prohibited for some organizations	6	4.1	18	3.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	11	0.6
TOTAL, SUBSTANTIVE INSTITUTIONAL CHANGES (1-6, 8-11 above)	104	71.7	308	58.8	116	80.0	452	86.2	1128	62.0
12. Other	13	9.0	44	8.4	5	3.4	10	1.9	35	2.0

the institutions with violent protests and at 23 percent of those with disruptive protests. However, there was no difference between colleges with violent protests and those with disruptive protests in the incidence of protest-induced changes which increased student power. In short, then, the use of violence appears to be associated with changes in minority group policies, but not with most other forms of substantive institutional change.

Changes not a direct result of protests. Table 8 also shows that many institutional changes effected during the past academic year were not the direct result of protest incidents. More than two-fifths of the institutions with violent protests, and one-half of those with disruptive protests, changed their racial policies -- but not as a direct result of protest incidents. Among those institutions which had not experienced any major protest activities during the year, almost one-fourth also changed their racial policies. For all of these institutions, changes in racial policies involved new black studies programs more often than a relaxation in admissions requirements for minority applicants.

Changes which tended to increase student power were significantly more likely to be made independently of a protest incident than as a direct result of an incident. The national estimates indicate that 72 percent of the colleges experiencing violent protests, 69 percent of those experiencing disruptive protests, and 58 percent of those with no major protests had allowed increased student power, but not as a direct result of protest incidents. The most prevalent of these changes were those which allowed greater representation of students on committees, followed by changes in institutional rules and regulations governing students.

In total, substantive changes, not directly resulting from protest inci-

dents, were made at 80 percent of the institutions with violent protests, at 86 percent of those with disruptive protests, and at 62 percent of those which incurred no major incident of campus protest during the year. Changes were most usually in the direction of greater student power, the formation of new committees or study groups, or the instituting of curriculum changes.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

A major conclusion suggested by our survey is that popular accounts of the campus "crisis" may often be misleading. That is, violence and disruption are not as "rampant" as some groups would lead us to believe, nor are institutions as "irresponsible"--in the sense of attempting to curb violence--or as "unresponsive"--in the sense of instituting major changes--as many have claimed. While the more dramatic incidents of violence or seeming institutional inaction are likely to be deemed the most newsworthy, the response to this national representative survey of institutions indicates that such incidents are not reflective of the "typical" American college.

It is apparent that punitive response is not uncommon among institutions which have experienced more severe forms of protest. At fully three-fourths of the institutions which had experienced violent protests there had been major civil action (arrest or indictment) or major institutional action (dismissal, suspension, or withdrawal of financial assistance) against some protestors. It is also important to point out that the employment of this type of response by institutions is appropriately gradated in terms of the severity of the protest incident.

The punitive response by institutions occurs frequently through the use of civil authority as well as by means of institutional authority. In the case of extreme violent protest activities, it appears that college adminis-

trators are by no means reluctant to call on non-institutional legal procedures. Indeed, such procedures are used more frequently than within-institutional means in the case of violent incidents. The latter are probably employed less frequently in dealing with violence because parallel institutional action may prejudice pending civil proceedings or place students in double-jeopardy. In the case of disruptive protests, on the other hand, there is proportionately greater use of severe institutional discipline and subsequently less use of civil procedures of control and punishment.

The relationships which are described between institutional characteristics and the incidence of major organized protest activities are consistent with the previous research results on individuals. Major campus unrest is most prevalent in the large schools, in universities and non-church-related four-year colleges, particularly the private institutions, and in those which accept only students of high average ability and achievement levels. Consequently, state or federal legislation which inhibits institutions in some way or deprives students in some way would affect different kinds of institutions much differently. The two-year institutions and others which are church-related could largely escape any punitive legislation simply because their students are not engaging in protests of a type that are likely to be encompassed in legislation or likely to result in the withdrawal of student financial support. Legislation would also work differently by selectivity level, with the nation's "centers of excellence" being most severely affected. Moreover, much of the legislation that has been enacted or proposed, particularly at the state level, will have a rather severe impact on public institutions but relatively little effect on the private institutions (which are likely to experience substantially more major protest incidents than the public institutions).

In conclusion, it would appear that most colleges and universities are attempting to respond in a meaningful and appropriate manner to major campus protest when it occurs. Discipline has been used frequently in responding to violence. Major efforts have also been made to modify curricula and racial policies, and to increase the student's freedom and power. Moreover, our data show clearly that the majority of institutions, including those where there was no major protest during the 1968-1969 academic year, instituted substantive changes in rules or policy during the same period of time. Undoubtedly, such changes are partly the result of earlier protests or of protests on other college campuses throughout the nation, partly an attempt to avert major protest activities from occurring, and partly an effort to improve the educational environment and policy of the institution.

Nevertheless, even though institutional administrators have responded on a significant scale to both the protest tactics and the issues, there is no reason to believe that campuses will not likely be experiencing more protest activity in years to come. The academic community has traditionally been an important source of social criticism and only some of the issues -- perhaps not the most important ones -- fall within the reach of campus officials. Issues such as national military policy, national priorities, and racial injustice, for example, will continue to provide a basis for concern among many members of the academic community, independent of any changes in institutional policy that might occur.

Dissent and protest have always been regarded as essential features in any viable and effective educational community and, as we have already pointed out, have come to be virtually universal phenomena on college campuses in the 1960's. The major dilemma facing institutions is how to encourage the expression of protest and social criticism and, at the

same time, to preserve basic democratic processes and to protect the rights and privileges of all members of the campus community.

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APPENDIX A
THE CAMPUS UNREST QUESTIONNAIRE

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION
1785 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036

Please answer the following questions on campus protest at your institution as well as you can recall the circumstances during the current academic year (September 1968 to June 1969). A protest is defined as any organized activity involving members of the campus community and occurring on or about campus, for the purpose of expressing public disapproval of, or to bring about change in, some policy, practice, or event.

(*Note:* Even if your institution had no protest incident during the year, please fill in the name of your institution, note "none" in question 2A, fill out question 6B, and return in the enclosed envelope.)

1. **Name of Institution:** _____

_____
(City) (State)

2. **Incidence of Protest:**

A. About how many *different* protests occurred at your institution during the current academic year? _____

B. What were the inclusive dates of the *most recent protest* this academic year?

_____ to _____
(month) (day) (month) (day)

C. What were the inclusive dates of the *second most recent* protest this academic year? _____ to _____
(month) (day) (month) (day)

3. Listed below are a number of different modes of protests which have occurred on college campuses. Please circle the number of times each has occurred on your campus during the recent academic year. Also circle the mode(s) of protest which occurred during (a) your *most recent* protest and (b) your *second most recent* protest of the current academic year.

Protest Mode	Number of Different Times Mode Occurred *During Academic Year* (Circle one response in each row)						Occurred in *Most Recent* Protest (Circle all that apply)	Occurred in Second *Most Recent* Protest (Circle all that apply)
Burning of building by protestors	None	1	2	3	4	5+	X	X
Breaking or wrecking of building or furnishings	None	1	2	3	4	5+	X	X
Destruction of records, files, papers	None	1	2	3	4	5+	X	X
Building or section of building occupied	None	1	2	3	4	5+	X	X
Entrance to building barred by protestors	None	1	2	3	4	5+	X	X
Officials held 'captive' by students	None	1	2	3	4	5+	X	X
Interruption of school function (e.g., classes, speech or meetings)	None	1	2	3	4	5+	X	X
General campus strike or boycott of classes or school function	None	1	2	3	4	5+	X	X
Campus march, picketing, or rally without physical violence	None	1	2	3	4	5+	X	X
Campus march, picketing, or rally with physical violence	None	1	2	3	4	5+	X	X
Threat of physical violence to specific individuals or groups	None	1	2	3	4	5+	X	X
"Hit and run" disturbances (e.g., setting off of firecrackers, stink bombs)	None	1	2	3	4	5+	X	X
Petition circulated on campus	None	1	2	3	4	5+	X	X
Demands or grievances presented to president, dean, faculty senate, Board of Regents, or similar body	None	1	2	3	4	5+	X	X
Other (please specify): _____								
_____	None	1	2	3	4	5+	X	X

4. Listed below are some of the major local and national issues in campus protests and demonstrations. Please circle all those issues which were raised at your institution in a demonstration or protest during the recent academic year. Several issues are usually involved in any protest incident and one issue is usually dominant; please circle (a) all of the issues involved and (b) the one major issue in both the *most recent* and *second most recent* protest this year.

The Issues	Campus Protest Issues *During Academic Year* (Circle all that apply)	Issue(s) During *Most Recent* Protest: All Issues Involved (Circle all that apply)	Issue(s) During *Most Recent* Protest: Major Issue (Circle one only)	Issue(s) During *Second Most Recent* Protest: All Issues Involved (Circle all that apply)	Issue(s) During *Second Most Recent* Protest: Major Issue (Circle one only)
Opposition to military policy (e.g., Viet Nam, ABM)	X	X	X	X	X
Opposition to U.S. Selective Service policy	X	X	X	X	X
Opposition to ROTC programs	X	X	X	X	X
Opposition to military or government research	X	X	X	X	X
On-campus recruiting by government or industry	X	X	X	X	X
Institutional services (e.g., food and medical service, housing and recreation facilities)	X	X	X	X	X
Institutional parietal rules (e.g., dress, dormitory regulations, drinking, sex, required attendance at school functions)	X	X	X	X	X
Institutional student disciplinary practices	X	X	X	X	X
Instructional procedures (e.g., class size, quality of instruction, grading system, student evaluations)	X	X	X	X	X
Tuition charges and fees	X	X	X	X	X
Special educational programs for minority groups (e.g., black studies, compensatory programs)	X	X	X	X	X
Special admissions policies for minority groups	X	X	X	X	X
Civil rights (e.g., desegregation, voter registration)	X	X	X	X	X
Labor problems (e.g., wages, benefits, unionization)	X	X	X	X	X
Administrative indifference or inaction concerning local community problems	X	X	X	X	X

(Continued on next page)

4. (continued)

The Issues	Campus Protest Issues *During Academic Year* (Circle all that apply)	Issue(s) During *Most Recent* Protest: All Issues Involved (Circle all that apply)	Issue(s) During *Most Recent* Protest: Major Issue (Circle one only)	Issue(s) During *Second Most Recent* Protest: All Issues Involved (Circle all that apply)	Issue(s) During *Second Most Recent* Protest: Major Issue (Circle one only)
Police brutality	X	X	X	X	X
Requests or demands for amnesty	X	X	X	X	X
Administrative indifference or inaction concerning previous protest grievances	X	X	X	X	X
Opposition to administrative response concerning previous protest	X	X	X	X	X
Mourning for students or others killed or wounded	X	X	X	X	X
Student participation in decision-making (e.g., on committees)	X	X	X	X	X
Free expression (e.g., publication censorship, guest speakers)	X	X	X	X	X
Faculty (e.g., academic freedom, hiring, tenure)	X	X	X	X	X
Other (please specify):_____					
_____	X	X	X	X	X

5. Listed below are some of the results and consequences during and after a campus protest incident. Please circle all of these which occurred at any time during the *recent* academic year and any which resulted from the *most recent* and *second most recent* protest this year.

The Results	Results During *Academic Year* (Circle all that apply)	Results During *Most Recent* Protest (Circle all that apply)	Results During *Second Most Recent* Protest (Circle all that apply)
National guard called in	X	X	X
Off-campus police called in	X	X	X
One or more persons killed	X	X	X
Some persons injured	X	X	X
Some protestors arrested	X	X	X
Some protestors indicted	X	X	X
Temporary restraining order or court injunction obtained	X	X	X
Classes suspended	X	X	X
Protest received national press or television coverage	X	X	X
Administration or faculty negotiated issues with demonstrators	X	X	X
Formal statement issued by faculty in support of protestors	X	X	X
One or more students dismissed or expelled	X	X	X
Some students suspended or put on probation	X	X	X
Formal student reprimands issued	X	X	X
Financial assistance was withdrawn from some protestors	X	X	X
Some faculty or administrators resigned as a result of the protest	X	X	X
Other (please specify):_____	X	X	X

6. Listed below are some administrative changes that may have taken place at your institution *during the recent academic year.* Please circle all of those changes which have been made at your institution (a) as a direct result or response to a campus protest, and (b) not resulting from an actual protest incident.

The Changes	Change(s) as a Result of Protest (Circle all that apply)	Change(s), But Not Resulting from a Protest Incident (Circle all that apply)
Black studies program or department instituted	X	X
Other curriculum changes were instituted	X	X
Special admissions policies were established for minority group members	X	X
Parietal rules were liberalized	X	X
Other institutional rules and regulations governing students were changed	X	X
Students allowed more voice or representation on existing committees	X	X
New committees or study groups formed on campus	X	X
ROTC program terminated	X	X
ROTC program altered or made elective	X	X
Some campus research for the military discontinued	X	X
On-campus recruiting was prohibited for some organizations	X	X
Other (please specify): _____	X	X

Other recent publications by the staff of the Office of Research:

Alternative Methods of Describing Characteristics of Colleges and Universities
John A. Creager and Alexander W. Astin
Educational and Psychological Measurement, 28, 1968, 719–734

A Program of Research on Student Development
Alexander W. Astin
The Journal of College Student Personnel, 1968, 299–307

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The Journal of College Student Personnel, 1968, 308–311

General Purpose Sampling in the Domain of Higher Education
John A. Creager
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Alan E. Bayer
Sociology of Education, 41, 1968, 88–102

National Norms for Entering College Freshmen–Fall 1968
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The Journal of Educational Research, 62, 1969, 217–221

The Black Student in American Colleges
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Alan E. Bayer, Alexander W. Astin, Robert F. Boruch, John A. Creager
ACE Research Reports, 4(1), 1969